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A. S. BATCHELLOR

THE

RANGER SERVICE

IN THE UPPER VALLEY OF THE CONNECTICUT

AND THE

MOST NORTHERLY REGIMENT

OF THE

NEW HAMPSHIRE MILITIA

IN THE PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE NEW HAMPSHIRE SOCIETY OF SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AT CONCORD, N. H., APRIL 26, 1900,

BY

ALBERT STILLMAN BATCHELLOR.

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ALBERT STILLMAN BATCHELLOR.

PROLOGUE.

In approaching the specific theme which has been chosen for this address certain preliminary suggestions may be permissible:

1. A correct understanding of the geography of any locality related to events to be described is an important prerequisite in the treatment of such a subject as is now under consideration. The "Twelfth Regiment of Foot," as the most northerly organization of the provincial military establishment was termed, was a description and designation in military phrase of a region which was then recently settled, and, for the larger part, sparsely populated. It extended along the Connecticut river on the New Hampshire side from Orford to Colebrook. The settlements on the Vermont side of the river had not been extended as far north as those of the New Hampshire pioneers on the east side, except a very few that had been effected by those going north by way of Lancaster, and occupying the valley along the river opposite Lancaster, Northumberland, and Stratford. To the east of the Twelfth Regiment was a mountain wilderness. The northern part of the Connecticut valley, lying between the Upper Coös on the north and the Ammonoosuc valley and the Lower Coös on the south, had not been securely settled. Thus the extreme north part of the regiment was isolated from the south part. The locality of the regiment was, therefore, a narrow tongue of settled and unsettled townships eighty miles in length, with vast tracts of virgin wilderness on either side. Forts had been constructed at Haverhill, Bath, Lisbon (then known as Concord or Gunthwaite), Lancaster, Northumberland, and Stratford. A line drawn due east and west through Bennington to the Connecticut river was sixty miles south of Orford. An uninhabited and mountainous region seventy miles wide intervened

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between the principal part of this regiment and the line of military operations along the Champlain route; it was eighty miles from Stratford, and a hundred miles from Newbury to St. Johns in Canada; and the distance was a hundred miles from the southern boundary of the regiment to the seat of operations about Boston.

2. A regiment of militia in the Revolutionary period was a territorial designation, and not, as now, an aggregation of organized men assembled by companies and battalions without reference to the location and residence of their individual constituents. It was a provision of law that certain contiguous towns should form a regiment. The designated area constituted the regiment, and every able-bodied man of military age, with a few statutory exceptions, was a member of the regiment in the same sense that a citizen is at this day a part of his senatorial district. It was not usual to attempt to get one of these regiments into active service in its entirety. In fact, this was practically impossible. It was not ordinarily necessary to call out every enrolled soldier, and if such a call could have been made effective it would have deprived the district of almost its entire body of citizens engaged in its various avocations. Out of these regiments minutemen were organized into other regiments to be immediately available in cases of emergency. On other occasions quotas were assessed upon the militia regiments, and these contingents were assembled and reorganized into new companies, battalions, and regiments. In exceptional instances summary calls were made on all the militia to volunteer for campaigns like that at Saratoga, when, as General Burgoyne said, the New England militia hung like a black cloud upon his left. Liberal as the response was at that time, it was not universal. Stark's first brigade was returning while his second body of volunteers was assembling for Saratoga. This explains the fact that such prominent militia officers or military men as Col. Timothy Bedel of Haverhill, Lieut.-Col. David Webster of Plymouth, and Lieut.-Col. Charles Johnston of Haverhill were volunteers, one at Bennington, the others at Saratoga. Had their militia regiments been called into service, in the form and entirety of their primary organization, these men would not have been doing duty as volunteers in the temporary regiments in the field.

3. The student of the official records of this period, both those of military and those of civil character, will observe superficially that titles were freely employed in the designation of persons. A more critical examination of this feature of the old prints and manuscripts will establish the assumption that these titles were applied with

scrupulous accuracy. When the verifying documents can be found it is always discovered that the prefix which appears in other connections is correct, and that the person to whom it is accorded in speech or writing receives only the distinction to which he is rightfully entitled. An act of the Revolutionary period of a somewhat peculiar import created a section of militia to be composed of men in advanced years, who had passed the usual age limit of military service.[1] The companies so constituted were each entitled to a captain holding the rank of colonel, a lieutenant of the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and an ensign of the rank of major. Although this law was not long in force, it served to multiply the number of officers bearing the titles of the higher grades of military service.

4. The opposite side of the river from Morey's regiment was occupied by regiments of Vermont militia, the upper one commanded by Jacob Kent of Newbury and the lower one by Peter Olcott of Norwich. Thomas Johnson of Newbury was lieutenant-colonel of Kent's regiment. Jacob Bayley of Newbury, a colonel at the beginning of the war and later a brigadier-general, also serving as commissary-general for the Northern department, exercised a commanding influence on both sides of the river throughout the war. He is regarded now, with good reason, as one of the neglected heroes of the Revolution. His services were of singular value at all stages of the conflict. He was skilful and potent in management of the Indians who roamed the wilderness between the frontiers of the Vermont and New Hampshire settlements and those of Canada. (Hist. of Newbury, Vt., by Frederic P. Wells, p. 73.)

In co-operation with Hurd, Charles Johnston, Thomas Johnson, Kent, Morey, Childs, Olcott, and Bedel, he succeeded in such measures for the protection of the settlements in the northern valley of the Connecticut that the inhabitants were not only able to hold their ground but also to accomplish some extension of their farms and clearings. The recent history of Newbury, Vt., by Mr. Wells, contains an admirable presentation of the story of the Revolution as related to this region. It is a progressive addition to the notably satisfactory treatment of the same subject, in its special reference to Hanover and vicinity, by Judge Frederick Chase in his history of that town.

The military events which transpired in Upper Coös, as the western side of the present county of Coös was designated in the Revolutionary period, have been accorded thorough and reliable treatment in the

[1] Passed June 24, 1786. Laws, 1780–'89, p. 409.

History of Coös County by Fergusson, 1888, and in the History of Lancaster by A. N. Somers, 1899.

In 1775 Canada was occupied by the Americans. They had carried the war into the enemy's country. This proved to be the best possible method of protecting the Vermont and New Hampshire frontiers. Until the termination of these operations in Canadian territory by the retreat of the army finally under General Sullivan in the month of June, 1776, comparative security for the Coös country resulted from the fact that the enemy had all it could do to protect itself at home. This was the status upon which the people of this region relied with good reason until the summer of 1776. In July of that year the immediate defense of the Upper Coös was provided for by the dispatch or assignment of a company of 50 men for service in the region of Northumberland and Stratford under command of Jeremiah Eames. At the former place Fort Weare was erected. This company served from July 13 to October 13, 1776. (17 State Papers, 65.) Three statements from the inhabitants of these towns addressed to the general court, one of date September 16, one September 26, 1776 (17 State Papers, 77, 78, 79), and one without date (8 State Papers, 379), afford interesting accounts of the state of affairs on this frontier. Evidently there were two parties among the people of that locality, one recommending Captain Eames and one Captain Bucknam for the command of the rangers in that region and of the garrison at Fort Weare. Captain Eames succeeded in securing the endorsement of the legislature. The next company raised for service at this point consisted of 26 men, and was under command of Captain Eames. They were on duty from October 14 to December 1, 1776. (17 State Papers, 113.) A third company under Captain Eames, consisting of 11 men for winter duty at the Upper Coös, served from December 2, 1776, to April 15, 1777. (14 State Papers, 473.)

Meanwhile at the Lower Coös similar measures were being taken for the public defense in the summer and fall of 1776. Capt. Thomas Simpson of Haverhill with 52 men, serving from September 14 to December 2, Capt. Samuel Atkinson of Boscawen with 49 men, serving from September 1 to December 1, and Capt. Josiah Russell of Plainfield with 53 men, serving from September 19 to December 1, guarded that region. (17 State Papers, 82, 83, 88, 89, 91, 92.)

Colonel Hurd, Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston, James Bayley, and Maj. Jonathan Hale were authorized to give directions as to the scouting routes of Simpson's and Russell's companies. (8 State Papers, 335, 336.)

A company was also raised for the same purpose to be under the immediate command of Capt. David Woodward of Hanover, but under the general direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston and General Bayley at Coös. (17 State Papers, 67.) Colonel Hurd reports that this company was operating at Royalton, Vt., and apparently without taking directions from the superior officers at the Coös designated for it by the vote of the general court. (8 State Papers, 315.) Later Captain Woodward appears to have been at Haverhill in person, and to have been the bearer of messages sent by Colonel Hurd to the government at Exeter. (8 State Papers, 326, 327.) During the winter of 1776-'77 and the year 1777 the offensive operations that were in progress, and which culminated in October at Saratoga, were the sufficient guaranty of a reasonable protection of this valley. The business of British-Canadian-Indian-Tory raiding seemed to have been concentrated and confined at this period within a region lying along the track of Burgoyne's movements.

In the winter of 1777-'78 the continental congress threatened an invasion of Canada, with a proposition to put Stark in command of it. Bedel was authorized to raise a regiment in this valley and in the adjacent regions for the same enterprise. The men were enrolled by him in December, 1777, and, upon a change of purpose in regard to the Canadian expedition or the actual accomplishment of that purpose by the mere fact of its announcement, Bedel's regiment was disbanded in March, 1778. (16 State Papers, 306.) Soon after, however, the plan of carrying the war back into Canada was again prominent in continental councils. Lafayette was now designated to command the army of invasion. Bedel enrolled another regiment in the expectation, as he stated, that it would have service in the North. (15 State Papers, 584.) Stark called upon Bedel to send the regiment to New York, where a part under Lieutenant-Colonel Wheelock actually proceeded in partial compliance with orders of Gates and Stark. The organization was continued certainly until the following November, and possibly until the next March (1779), which was the date of the expiration of the terms of enlistment. (17 N. H. State Papers, 232, 233, 237, 239, 243, *et passim*; chapter on the Revolution, Chase's History of Hanover and Dartmouth College; correspondence of John Stark in his Memoir by Caleb Stark, *passim*; Potter, Military Hist. of N. H., account of Bedel's later regiments, Part 2, pp. 387-392; Aldrich, "The Affair of the Cedars and the Services of Col. Timothy Bedel in the War of the Revolution," 3 Proceedings N. H. Hist. Soc., 194-231.)

Bedel's battalion on the frontier seems to have remained of neces-

sity in service until relieved by other local levies in March, and by Colonel Hazen's regiment in May, 1779.

General Bayley writes Bedel, March 16, 1779: "Agreeable to your Letter the committee met at Dresden, Capt Morey is arrived with a Party to relieve your Guards." "20 men was ordered with Capt. Morey, and 30 are ready from Lebanon and Colo Olcot." (17 State Papers, 320, 321.)

It may, perhaps, be a reasonable inference from the facts now developed in the history of that period that General Washington was not in sympathy with the plans for another invasion of Canada. It would appear also that their abandonment was contemporary with the downfall of the so-called "Conway Cabal."

At this time (1778) the union of seventeen towns (including Dresden), all of them except Cornish being in Grafton county, with the towns west of the river, had been apparently effected, and Colonel Morey and Colonel Bedel were now members of the Vermont legislature. This movement was strenuously antagonized by the Bennington and the Exeter state governments, and this first so-called union soon collapsed.

It was, of course, inevitable that these political considerations should disadvantageously affect the military status of Colonel Bedel and his regiment in the relations which would necessarily exist with these two state governments. (Town and College in the Revolution, History of Hanover and D. C., by Frederick Chase, p. 390 *et seq.*, 469.)

It was proposed, in the spring of 1779, to have the scattered detachments of Whitcomb's rangers collected and stationed at Haverhill for the defense of that region. This was presumably not accomplished, as Hazen's continentals, consisting of 17 companies, several of them being constituted of French-Canadians who had enlisted in Canada with him and remained in his command, a total of between 500 and 600 officers and men, according to the rolls of the regiment as made up in the fall of 1778, were ordered to the Lower Coös. (18 State Papers, 911–916.) They arrived here about the first of May, 1779, and remained until September. (17 State Papers, 292-309, 331.)

"After the departure of Hazen's regiment the frontiers were guarded by the regiment of Col. Moses Nichols for a short time, when that, too, was withdrawn to West Point, and the people were left to take care of themselves as best they might under the command of Maj. Benjamin Whitcomb." (Potter, Mil. Hist. N. H., 366; 8 State Papers, 869, 872; Chase, Hist. Hanover, 402.)

Meanwhile, in the same year, the state had provided a company

of scouts, 5 men, under Capt. Jonah Chapman of Campton, for service in the Upper Coös. These men were on duty from July 15 to October 1. The inhabitants of the three towns of Lancaster, Northumberland, and Stratford organized as a municipal group, certainly this year and perhaps in other years. They chose a committee of safety for 1779 and provided for a local military organization for the defense of these settlements, then the most northerly in the state. (13 State Papers, 474, 475; 15 *Id.*, 705; Fergusson, Hist. Coös County, 86, 87; Hist. of Lancaster, 83.) Nathan Caswell, formerly and afterwards of Apthorp (now Littleton), was made captain of this organization of the settlers.

In June of this year a party of Indians with a French-Canadian leader had raided Stratford, taking away considerable plunder and two prisoners. This affair of course served to intensify the sense of insecurity which prevailed in that season in the north country. (Hist. of Lancaster, 82.)

In January, 1780, a convention of towns on both sides of the river in the vicinity of Hanover and Norwich voted to enlist or detach a regiment of 500 minute men, David Woodward to be colonel, and two companies of scouts, each of 61 men, one of the companies being commanded by Timothy Bush. The proportion of Morey's regiment for the minute men was 130 and of the scouts 36.

This activity is thus explained:

"In January, 1780, information was received that the Indians were preparing to make a descent during the winter. There was a general apprehension of an attack, not only on account of the defenceless state of the frontier, but also from an idea that the Indians were especially exasperated against New Hampshire because of the havoc made among the Six Nations the preceding autumn by the New Hampshire troops under the New Hampshire general, Sullivan." (History of Hanover, Chase, p. 402.)

Lieut. James Ladd of Haverhill served with a detachment, in connection with Captain Lovewell of Vermont, in January, February, March, and April, 1780. Capt. Joseph Hutchins of Haverhill, later in the same year, had command of a company of rangers consisting of 52 men. (Potter, Mil. Hist. N. H., Part 2, p. 395.)

Capt. Peter Kimball of Boscawen and Capt. Thomas Nichols of Antrim were in command of companies of rangers at Coös, raised in February and discharged in April, 1780. (16 State Papers, 215.)

Samuel Paine of Lebanon was captain of a company of 32 officers and men serving six months from June 18, 1780, and, according to a

memorandum in the pay-roll, at the upper Coös. (16 State Papers, 178, 179.)

The house of representatives by vote of June 22, 1780, authorized the raising of 120 men to be sent to the western frontiers of the state to reinforce Major Whitcomb.

One company was commanded by Ephraim Stone of Westmoreland, 45 officers and men, enlisted in July for six months. Capt. Samuel Runels of Durham commanded another company of 37 officers and men, raised for six months' service by the same authority and for the same purpose. (16 State Papers, 166, 167, 168, 169, 215.)

It is not improbable that the companies of Hutchins, Stone, and Runels were constituted out of the 120 men raised under the authority above mentioned.

Another and later company was engaged in the same service under Lieut. John Adams of Moultonborough. It was raised in October and discharged in November, 1780. (16 State Papers, 215.)

Whitcomb's corps, sometime previous to this year, had been made a part of the continental establishment. Its personal constituents for 1780 are given in 16 N. H. State Papers, 170, 171.

In 1781 several raids occurred and were the occasion of extraordinary alarm in the Upper and Lower Coös. One of these incursions reached Dartmouth (now Jefferson), and Joseph Whipple, then the most prominent resident of that region, narrowly escaped capture on his own plantation.

In June of this year a part of a company under Lieut. Peter Stearns was raised at Plymouth by Colonel Webster and forwarded to these frontiers. (Potter, Mil. Hist. N. H., Part 2, p. 395.)

Aroused by the audacity of the Dartmouth raid the state authorities forwarded a company under command of Jacob Smith of Sandwich, 49 officers and men, for the defense of the "northern frontiers." These men served from August 29 to November 6, 1781. (Potter, Mil. His. N. H., Part 2, p. 396.)

Sergt. James Ladd of Haverhill had a scout of eleven men on the western frontiers from January 28 to April 1, 1782, operating from Haverhill. (16 State Papers, 293.)

Sergeant James Blake's party "for the defense of the upper Coös," consisted of 11 men, and was in that service 11 months and 18 days from April 13, 1782. (16 State Papers, 288.)

At the Lower Coös two companies were on duty the same season. One was commanded by Capt. Ebenezer Webster of Salisbury, the father of the statesman and a veteran of Bunker Hill and Bennington,

67 officers and men, in service from April 1 to November at Haverhill and vicinity (16 State Papers, 295), and the other, a party of 13 men under Capt. Jonathan Smith of Surry, on duty in the same region from July 4 to September 30. (16 State Papers, 298.)

The Conway and Androscoggin scouting companies have not been particularly mentioned in this narrative, but they were valuable auxiliaries to the defense of northern New Hampshire by their operations on the passable approaches to the Upper Coös from the eastern side of the mountain and lake region.

There were many special alarms in respect to which the militia were called out or volunteered in this section, or that of other sections came to the relief of this, of which a detailed account has not been attempted in this narrative. The capture of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson at Peacham and the Royalton affair, as to which the storm centers were in the vicinity of the last-named town and along the valley of the Connecticut to Newbury, are examples of these episodes. (History of Hanover, 410–421; History of Newbury, Vt., *passim*.)

Whitcomb's corps of rangers was largely recruited from the Connecticut valley. It is probable that they had at several periods important part in the defense of the frontiers of northeastern Vermont and northwestern New Hampshire. These men were led with superior skill and audacity, and performed valuable service of the same kind as that for which Rogers's men were famous in the French and Indian war.

A memoir of Major Benjamin Whitcomb and an account of his corps is in preparation by George F. Morris, Esq., of Lisbon, at which place that officer resided after the war, and will afford a valuable additional chapter of Revolutionary history as respects a special line of operations in the general field, as well as new light on important military events and movements on the frontiers of New Hampshire and Vermont.

It is difficult at this day to determine what other influences, besides those exerted in the ordinary military way, and as such made the subject of historical record, served to protect this region in the Revolutionary period. The temporizing policy of some of the Vermont leaders, which has been disclosed to some extent in the so-called "Haldimand Correspondence" (Records of Vermont, 2 Gov. and Council, pp. 398–485), may have had the result of modifying or postponing the prosecution of guerrilla warfare in Vermont and western New Hampshire by staying the encouragement and initiative of such operations on the part of those in authority in Canada. It is also believed that the influence of President Eleazer Wheelock of Dartmouth college

with Joseph Brant, the famous Mohawk Indian leader and once a pupil of Dr. Wheelock, was another important factor affecting the attitude of the Indians in a favorable way towards the inhabitants of the Connecticut valley. (Wells, Hist. of Newbury, Vt., 104.)

This well-informed writer well says (p. 97) that "people in these days who suppose that the Revolutionary war ended with the surrender of Cornwallis in October, 1781, will be surprised to know that at no period in the war did the patriot cause seem more hopeless to the people in Coös, or their own situation more dangerous, than in the two years mentioned" [i. e., the two years succeeding that event].

It may also be suggested in passing that the divided allegiance that existed during the entire period of the war among the people of the lower Coös between the governments of Vermont and New Hampshire could hardly be otherwise than detrimental to almost any plan of campaign against the common enemy.

As the stress of war moved to the west and south the Loyalist elements became more active and aggressive in the east. Between 1779 and 1783 Vermont was seriously harassed, and the people of western New Hampshire were kept in a state of constant alarm by these marauders. At this time Rogers and Pritchard were making their mischievous and not infrequently destructive incursions on the Vermont side of the valley of the Connecticut. Among the more important depredations of these and similar bands are to be named the descent upon Peacham and the capture of Thomas Johnson, the investment of Newbury, including the two unsuccessful attempts to capture General Bayley, and the destruction of Royalton.

The heroic endurance of the frontier farmers all through these eight years of doubtful, harassing, and destructive struggle constitutes a monumental epoch in the history of the achievement of American independence.

5. In these days far removed from that long, doubtful and heroic struggle we often speculate, and invoke the service of theory and imagination, as to the spectacle of the "embattled farmers" as they stood in formation at Bunker hill, at Saratoga, and at Yorktown. There is a picture, word-painted at the surrender of Burgoyne, which, in vivid and inspiring portrayal of the personnel of those victorious columns, is not surpassed in graphic eloquence in the literature of the Revolution. It is given in a letter by a British officer who was included in Burgoyne's capitulation, and I cannot forego the opportunity to reproduce it as the best contemporary description of the youth and manhood who, trained, disciplined, and organized as were our forefathers, the minute-men, at the call of Stark, of Sullivan, of Whipple,

of Poor, of Weare, and of Langdon, marching with the colors and challenging the hosts of the enemy from New Hampshire to Georgia, wrested victory from the greatest power in the Old World, and made a republic possible.

The closing scene of this most memorable campaign is thus described by one of the actors in it. He says:

"About ten o'clock we marched out, according to treaty, with drums beating, and the honors of war; but the drums seemed to have lost their former inspiriting sounds, and though we beat the 'Grenadiers' March,' which, not long before, was so animating, yet now it seemed by its last feeble effort as if almost ashamed to be heard on such an occasion.

"I shall never forget the appearance of the American troops on our marching past them. A dead silence reigned through their numerous columns. I must say their decent behavior to us, so greatly fallen, merited the utmost praise. . . . Not one of them was uniformly clad. Each had on the clothes he wore in the fields, the church, or the tavern; they stood, however, like soldiers, well arranged, and with a military air, in which there was but little to find fault with. All the muskets had bayonets, and the sharpshooters had rifles. The men all stood so still that we were filled with wonder. Not one of them made a single motion as if he would speak with his neighbor. Nay, more, all the lads that stood there in rank and file kind nature had formed so trim, so slender, so nervous that it was a pleasure to look at them, and we were all surprised at the sight of such a handsome, well-formed race. The whole nation had a natural turn for war and a soldier's life.

"The generals wore uniforms and belts, which designated their rank, but most of the colonels were in their ordinary clothes, with a musket and bayonet in hand, and a cartridge-box or powder-horn slung over the shoulder. There were regular regiments, which, for want of time or cloth, were not yet equipped in uniform. These had standards, with various emblems and mottoes, some of which had a very satirical meaning for us." ("Burgoyne's Invasion of 1777," by Samuel Adams Drake, pp. 137–138.)

ADDRESS.

Mr. President and Members of the Society of Sons of the American Revolution:

At the close of the French and Indian war the military system of the province of New Hampshire was in a state of marked efficiency. It was definitely established by law. The several organizations were

well equipped and well officered. Nearly all of them were numerically strong, and geographically distributed with judicious reference to considerations of organization, instruction, and mobilization. The personnel of the militia of that day had the benefit of a traditional spirit, which was developed, stimulated, and intensified by the dangers attendant upon actual frontier service through generation after generation, for a period of more than a hundred years. The hereditary aptitude of the people in military enterprise had been well proven by the requirements of many arduous campaigns in the long war which was terminated by the peace of 1760,[1] and by which all the French possessions to the northward were acquired. Immediately after this event an overflowing population, seeking new fields for settlement, poured into the unoccupied lands in the northern and western parts of the province, and over the Connecticut river upon the New Hampshire grants.

By an act of the assembly five counties were erected in 1771, but Grafton and Strafford were not organized till 1773. ("History of Administration of the Law in Grafton County," Child's Gaz., 32.) Contemporaneously with the establishment of a county administration of civil affairs, it seems that the militia system was extended over the same territory. (Mills and Hicks, British and Am. Reg., 1774.) Two additional province regiments were accordingly created, with headquarters for the first at Plymouth, and for the second at Haverhill. The field officers of the Second Grafton regiment were Hon. John Hurd of Haverhill, colonel, Asa Porter, Esq., of Haverhill, lieutenant-colonel, and William Simpson, Esq., of Orford, major. For the first regiment, Hon. John Fenton was colonel, David Hobart, lieutenant-colonel, and Jonathan M. Sewall, major. Colonel Hurd, then holding the offices of chief justice of the court of common pleas, receiver of quit-rents, county treasurer, and register of deeds, was the most prominent citizen of the Coös country. (Biography, by William F. Whitcher, Grafton and Coös Bar Asso. Proceedings, 1888, vol. 1, p. 467; Proceedings N. H. Society of Colonial Wars, 1902.) At this time regiments for military purposes were territorial designations. Fenton's regiment embraced approximately that part of the county which is now known as the eastern judicial district, and was numbered eleven; and Hurd's occupied the remainder. Hurd's regiment at this time was numbered twelve, and was so designated on the official records afterwards, while it was under the command of Morey

[1]The conquest of Canada was actually completed in 1760, but the formal acquisition of this territory by England was determined by the treaty of Paris in 1763.

and Johnston. (8 Province and State Papers, 834, 972; 16 State Papers, 924.)

In 1774 another regiment was constituted of the towns of Hanover, Lebanon, Lyme, Orford, Cornish, and Plainfield, with Samuel Gilbert of Lyme as colonel. (Chase's Hanover, p. 327.) Probably Lyme was not retained in this regiment, as at later dates it appears as a town in Morey's regiment. (14 State Papers, 556.) Colonel Gilbert having died, Lt.-Col. Jonathan Chase was made colonel by act of the assembly August 30, 1775. (Chase's Hanover, 329.) The north regiment is sometimes mentioned by Colonel Potter as the Sixteenth, but this is not in accord with the references to the regiment made in the acts and votes in the assembly and council in the war period, and down to the last of the year 1784.[1]

There is evidence that a company was organized in the Coös country before the county of Grafton was created or a regiment established, and that the settlers thus became an organic part of the province militia as early as 1768. (Letter, Gov. John Wentworth to Timothy Bedel, August 5, 1768, manuscript among the Bedel Papers, in custody of New Hampshire Historical Society.)

With the development of the revolutionary movement the status and disposition of the militia became an important consideration. The royal governor, in the disposal of the civic offices of the county, may not have entertained the idea of placing the officers of the two regiments under a sense of obligation to himself as representative of the crown, but it happened that no one was commissioned as a field officer who did not hold one or more civil offices of honor and emolument for the county. Besides the bestowal of the five important positions to which Colonel Hurd had been assigned, the governor made Colonel Fenton judge of probate and clerk of courts, Major Sewall register of probate, Lieutenant-Colonel Porter and Lieutenant-Colonel Hobart judges of the court of common pleas, and Major Simpson sheriff. When, however, the governor was compelled to abandon the province in 1775, Colonel Fenton alone of all those recipients of executive favor cast his fortunes with his chief and attempted to depart with him. (Biography, by Charles R. Corning, G. & C. Bar Asso. Proceedings, vol. 1, p. 151; Proceedings N. H. Society of Colonial Wars, 1901.) He was, however, intercepted by the state authorities and detained for a considerable period as a state prisoner. Colonel Porter was of the same mind but more politic as to taking a

[1] Council Records, Mss. VIII, 112; House Journal, Mss. XI, 391, XII, 419; 8 Prov. and State Papers, 834, 972; Potter, Mil. Hist. N. H., 2 Adjt.-Gen's. Report, 1866, 284; XIV State Papers, 558.

stand openly against the revolt of the province. Major Simpson and Major Sewall took a conservative course and were non-committal. Colonel Hurd and Lieutenant-Colonel Hobart espoused the cause of independence promptly, openly, and effectively. Hobart was eventually made colonel of Fenton's regiment, and Hurd became councilor and member of the revolutionary committee of safety for Grafton county.

The imperative necessity of a re-organization of the militia was manifest as soon as all reasonable hope of obtaining a redress of grievances without a final appeal to the arbitrament of war had vanished. Among the field officers, all having been appointed by the royal governor, a certain element, as might have been expected, remained in sympathy with the mother country, lukewarm in the cause of independence, or in doubt as to the expediency of the movement. The last recorded session of the old assembly is on July 18, the governor having retired to the fort July 11. The Fourth Provincial (Revolutionary) Congress had, after the final dissolution of the last (royal) province assembly, an open field as the only representative body exercising legislative powers in the province. Colonel Hurd was a member in attendance at the July session. This body, by vote on the 24th of August, 1775, the very day on which Governor Wentworth sailed for Boston on the *Scarborough*, re-organized the regiments with strict reference to the exigency by which the commonwealth was confronted. Timothy Bedel and Israel Morey, as well as Colonel Hurd, were influential Grafton county members of this congress. Morey was of Orford, and was made colonel of Hurd's regiment, with Charles Johnston of Haverhill as lieutenant-colonel, Jonathan Child of Lyme as first major, and Jonathan Hale of Haverhill as second major. (7 Province Papers, 578.) Colonel Morey was an energetic officer and a conspicuous citizen during the entire war period. Besides the organization and command of his regiment, constant attention to the defense of the frontier which it occupied, and compliance with calls upon his territory for oft-repeated levies of men and material for operations abroad, he acted as one of the chief executives of the commissary department in the Connecticut valley. The records are fragmentary and incomplete, but the following abstract will indicate something of the importance of this regiment in contributions for various lines of service in the course of the long conflict:

In 1776 the assembly voted to raise 2,000 men for "the service," of which the Sixteenth (Twelfth) regiment, Col. Israel Morey of Orford, was to furnish forty-three. (14 State Papers, 256.)

Men raised to fill up the three continental regiments, March, 1777 (total 2,063).

Col. Israel Morey's regiment, forty-three. (14 State Papers, 559.)

Apportionment of men to be raised for service in Rhode Island, 1779 (total 280).

Colonel Morey's regiment, six. (15 State Papers, 655.)

June 16, 1780, the legislature passed an act ordering 600 men to be raised to recruit the three regiments in the continental army from this state; of these

Colonel Morey's regiment, sixteen. (16 State Papers, 58.)

In the latter part of June, 1780, the legislature voted to raise 945 men for a term of three months, to reinforce the army at West Point; of these

Colonel Morey's regiment, two officers, twenty-six privates. (16 State Papers, 104.)

June 22, 1780, the house of representatives voted to raise 120 men to be sent to the "western frontiers of this state" to reinforce Maj. Benjamin Whitcomb. These men were to serve six months; of these

Colonel Morey's regiment, five. (16 State Papers, 166.)

"In October, 1780, a great alarm was occasioned by the destruction of Royalton, Vt., and from a report that 4,000 British troops had crossed Lake Champlain with the intention of proceeding to Connecticut River. At this time Mr. [Absalom] Peters marched at the head of six companies from the northern part of New Hampshire to Newbury, Vt., the place designated for their rendezvous, and on his arrival was appointed aid to Major-General Bayley, which office he sustained until the close of the war." (3 Coll. N. H. Hist. Society, 245.)

April 5, 1781, the house of representatives voted to raise two companies, to consist of sixty-five men each, to rendezvous at Haverhill by the 1st of June, and to be under the command of Lieut.-Col. Charles Johnston. It was subsequently voted not to send them so early; but on the 30th of June a vote passed requiring them to be raised and forwarded immediately. The men were to be raised from the militia regiments commanded by Colonels Ellis of Keene, Chase of Cornish, Morey of Orford, Webster of Plymouth, and "the regiment of the late Colonel Bellows" of Walpole, and were to serve six months. (16 State Papers, 249.)

From the Vermont records it appears that, in a call for 1,500 men for the defense of the northern frontier against the common enemy in 1781, 310 men were apportioned to the regiments on the east side of the river, two officers and forty-three non-commissioned officers and

privates being required from Morey's regiment. (2 Records of Governor and Council of Vt., p. 87.)

Other calls of a like character, of which no record has been preserved, would undoubtedly enlarge the account to the credit of Morey's regiment as an important factor in the great struggle. (See also 8 State Papers, *passim*.)

The local military government of the towns in the lower part of Morey's regiment all through the war period, which was also the period of their disaffection against the Exeter government, was very largely managed through the instrumentality of delegate conventions from the towns on both sides of the river. The details of the proceedings of these assemblies must be sought in the State Papers and historical collections of New Hampshire and Vermont.

The supreme effort on the part of New Hampshire in behalf of the cause of independence was made in 1777. Morey's regiment, on account of its location, was naturally subject to urgent calls for the reinforcement of the army by which General Burgoyne's forces were invested. David Hobart of Plymouth, colonel of the Eleventh regiment of militia, commanded one of the provisional regiments of Stark's brigade at Bennington. His record in that battle was highly commended by General Stark. His fame in later years, however, was obscured by the fact that Stark's despatches made the name appear to be "Hubbard." Belknap, Barstow, and other historians have followed the error. Whiton does not mention Hobart by either name. He died soon after the war in Haverhill, Mass., to which place he had removed. (Potter, Military Hist. of N. H., p. 320; Farmer's Belknap, p. 374; Barstow's N. H., p. 257.)

The roll of the men of Stark's brigade, compiled by Col. George C. Gilmore, 1891, in which the residence of each individual is given by towns, credits Morey's regiment with a contribution of 50 men. Nearly or quite all of this contingent served in the regiment commanded by Colonel Hobart. Davenport Phelps of Lyme was quartermaster on the regimental staff. Charles Johnston of Haverhill was Hobart's lieutenant-colonel, and Johnston's dramatic valor is still a conspicuous feature of the story of the battle. (15 State Papers, 142; 15 Granite Monthly, p. 85, biography of Charles Johnston by J. Q. Bittinger.)

Colonel Hurd writes from Haverhill, under date of September 30, 1777, to the committee of safety as follows:

"I congratulate with you on the success of our army to the Northward & the glorious prospect there now appears of destroying the

whole Force of our Enemys both North & South, & compleating the business of this campaign; if the people do but continue their spirit & exertions. 'Tis rather unluckey tho' that General Stark's Brigade is so soon broke up, wch has struck a panic into the Enemy they will never recover;—more of our men this way however are turning out at the earnest request of General Bayley from Castleton, & by orders of Col^o^ Morey, who I hear was going off himself. I am extremely chagrin'd that my infirm Limbs will not permit me to share the Toils & dangers of the field with my countrymen. I have spared two of my family & and sent them off with horses and provisions for near a month;—one of them, my son Jacob, tho' hardly of age sufficient, but a well grown lad of good heart & disposition, to supply his father's place." (8 State Papers, 700.)

No account is here taken of the so-called Ticonderoga alarms in the early part of 1777, to which due response was undoubtedly made by the men of Morey's regiment for the brief terms which characterized those somewhat desultory movements.

Gen. Jacob Bayley forwarded the following letter to Colonel Morey, dated September 22, 1777:

"S^r^—Success attend us as yet, in part we have cut of their Communication—we have taken Tic. side except the old fort hope soon to have all Lake George—Taken about 500 Prisoners we want help much our Divition is only 1500 men General Lincoln's gone to Join General Gates you and all the melitia Eastward must turn out with Horses and one months Provitions which will I hope put an end to the dispute this way. Gen^rl^ Arnold fought a battle two day ago on the Left of Gen^rl^ Gates great numbers fell on both sides he took 250 Prisoners and three field peaces and the field—Pray turn out—." (17 State Papers, 136.)

Writing from Cornish, October 1, 1777, Colonel Morey makes the following report to Gen. Jonathan Chase:

"Sir—This is to inform you that I have collected what men I could out of my Regiment (in so short a time) I marched them as far as this place hoping to find you at home—but as you was gone forward & as I have rec^d^ new orders from the Court of this state thro' the Hands of Brigadeer Genl Whipple to exert myself to the utmost & send all the Militia that can possibly turn out, I concluded to turn back & raise another Company & send forward as soon as possible—Capt Chandler commands the men which I have sent forward—I have directed him to put himself under your Command—my Adjutant Simeon Goodwin is gone forward & will serve if needed & he is a

Man that may be relied on for his punctuality & fidelity—Genl Bayley will show you what further I have wrote respecting the men and soforth—I send my son Israel with the Men he is to wait on Capt Hayward when he comes—."

By reference to the rolls in 15 State Papers, 379, 383, 385, we are able to identify the volunteers from Morey's regiment, to whom the colonel refers.

The officers of Morey's regiment with this battalion at the outset were Major Jonathan Child of Lyme, Adjutant Simeon Goodwin of Haverhill, Chaplain Obediah Noble, formerly of Orange, Capt. Jonathan Chandler of Piermont, Lieut. Jonathan Derby of Orford, Ensign James English of Lyme, Capt. Joshua Hayward (or Howard) of Haverhill, and Lieut. Thomas Hibbard of Haverhill. Major Child and Surgeon Frederick Obrey appear to have served in General Lincoln's command. (15 State Papers, 366.)

Lieutenant-Colonel Webster of Hobart's Plymouth regiment accompanied this contigent with a company of 24 officers and men from that regiment under Capt. John Willoughby. (15 State Papers, 381, 385.)

There were 30 men in Captain Chandler's company, and 36 in that of Captain Howard, besides the three officers of the field and staff. The detachment served under Colonel Chase. The rolls of Chase's men give the number in this particular service as 142. Chandler's contingent and Willoughby's company gave Colonel Chase a regiment of 235 men.

The following certificate of service relative to the regiment is preserved (17 State Papers, 150):

"H. Q. Saratoga, Octr 18th 1777—

"These may Certify that Col^{o} Chase with a Regiment of Volunteers have faithfully serv'd until this date in the Northern Army, and are now Discharged with Honor.—

"By order of General Gates

"Jacob Bayley Brig^{r} Genl"

Another company of 38 officers and men were engaged in this campaign under Capt. Joseph Hutchins of Haverhill. General Bayley certifies that they were in his brigade. Capt. John Sloan's company, raised in Lyme, Orford, Piermont, and the vicinity in Coös, 27 officers and men, were also in the same service. (15 State Papers, 277–281.)

The roll of officers for Hutchins's company is given in Potter's Military History, Part 2, p. 386. The officers named by Colonel Potter are,—

Joseph Hutchins, captain.
Timothy Bedel, first lieutenant.
Joseph Howe, second lieutenant.
Ezekiel Ladd, ensign.

The period of service was from August 18 to October 5. This roll should be read in connection with that of the rank and file printed in 15 State Papers, 279.

It makes the full number of the company 38, and by that much increases the aggregate of men furnished from Morey's regiment for the Saratoga campaign.

In July, 1777, it appears by the record that 50 men were recruited from this regiment for the continental regiments, and the names, residences, and regiment to which each man was assigned are given in detail. (15 State Papers, 424, 425.)

These enlistments were in ample time for the Saratoga campaign, in which all the New Hampshire continental regiments which are referred to participated. The total strength of Morey's regiment being 347, as already officially stated, it is now shown by actual reference to the rolls and names of the men that nearly two thirds of the regiment (234) volunteered for the Bennington and Saratoga campaigns, and that was equivalent to two thirds of the entire body of men of military age within the territorial limits of the regiment.

In a letter addressed to Lieut.-Col. David Webster, reproduced in Hon. Alfred Russell's biography of that officer in the *Granite Monthly*, vol. 30, p. 93, General Bayley formally thanks Colonel Webster for the services of himself and his regiment.

"HEADQUARTERS, SARATOGA,
"Oct. 18, 1777.

"These may certify that Col. Webster, with a regiment of N. H. Volunteers, have faithfully served in the Northern Army until this date, and are discharged with honor.

"By Gen. Gate's order,
"JACOB BAYLEY, *Brig. Gen'l.*"

The letter does not specify the regiment to which reference is made, whether to the regiment with which Colonel Webster served or a regiment which he commanded. It could not have been the Eleventh, or Plymouth regiment of militia, for the same reason that two companies volunteering out of Morey's regiment were not Morey's regiment, and 142 volunteers from Chase's were not Chase's regiment.

It is perhaps a fair inference from the roll given in 15 State Papers, 385, that Webster served as lieutenant-colonel in the provisional regiment of which Jonathan Chase was colonel.

Colonel Bedel's first regiment, 1775, serving in Canada, and the second, 1776, also operating in the same region, both contained companies raised within the area of Morey's regiment. Bedel's third, 1777, and his fourth, 1778, also contained large enlistments from Morey's

militia, although Bedel's later regiments, with the exception of the contingent of 100 men under Lieutenant-Colonel Wheelock called to Albany, N. Y., in 1778, were not actually engaged in field service outside of New Hampshire or Vermont. Add to this exhibit the recruitments from the northern militia for many companies of rangers, of which the official rolls afford evidence, and it may fairly be assumed that the number of men in active service assignable to Morey's regiment very largely exceeds the numerical strength of the regiment, notwithstanding the somewhat paradoxical nature of the claim.

The militia was governed by the existing province laws, modified in some particulars by occasional legislation, until September, 1776, when a new system was established by act of the two houses of the legislature. This law created two classes in the militia, the training band and the alarm list. All the able-bodied males in the state, with customary exemptions, between sixteen and fifty years of age, were included in the train band, and an alarm list in which the liability to military duty in emergencies was extended to sixty-five years.[1] The companies, including those upon the alarm list, a field officer presiding, were to choose a captain, two lieutenants, and an ensign to each. The non-commissioned officers were chosen by the companies.

Each officer and private soldier was "to equip himself and be constantly provided with a good firearm, good ramrod, a worm, priming wire and brush, and a bayonet fitted to his gun, a scabbard and belt therefor, and a cutting sword or a tomahawk, or hatchet, a pouch containing a cartridge-box that will hold fifteen rounds of cartridges at least, a hundred buckshot, a jackknife and tow for wadding, six flints, one pound of powder, forty leaden balls, fitted to his gun, a knapsack and blanket, a canteen or wooden bottle, sufficient to hold one quart." Each town was to provide and deposit in some safe place, for use in case of an alarm, a specified number of spades, axes, and picks, and to provide arms and equipments for those unable to provide for themselves; and parents, masters, and guardians were to provide for those under their care. Each company was to muster eight times a year, including the regimental musters. (Potter's Mil. Hist. N. H., vol. 2, Adjt.-Gen's Report, 1866, p. 281.)

The law imposed very serious burdens upon the people, not only in personal services but in the expense of equipment. A census taken in

1 A Conway return of June 10, 1775, in which all the men able to bear arms from sixteen years upward are enumerated, shows 61 men, with 10 on the alarm list, a total of 71. Of this 61, moreover, 11 were reported as already gone to the war. This may indicate approximately the respective proportions of men in the two classes in other northern towns. 14 State Papers, 246.

the fall of 1775 (7 Prov. Papers, 724–784) indicates approximately the amount of arms and military supplies in the hands of the people. The following table is an abstract of their returns, limited to the towns in Morey's regiment:

Names of Towns.	Fire arms fit for use.	Guns wanted.	Powder inhabitants have.	Powder town has.	Lead and bullets, etc.	Pistols.
Orford	13	29		30 lbs.		
Lyme	30	31		38		
Bath	8	24	8 lbs.	15		
Cockburne (Columbia)	3	2		3¾		
Colebrook	1			¾		
Haverhill			6	50		
Piermont	1	31		16		
Stratford	7	7		12		
Apthorp (Littleton and Dalton)						
Gunthwaite (Lisbon)		6		14		
Northumberland	7	15		10		
Lancaster	8	7		11		
Lyman						
Landaff	1				3 lbs lead, 2 dozen flints.	
Morristown (Franconia and Lincoln)	3			3⅛	10 lbs. lead, 20 flints.	

In a short time after Colonel Morey assumed command of the "North Regiment" it furnished a large contingent of men and military equipment for Bedel's regiment of Rangers which was ordered to Canada early in the winter of 1775–'76 to reinforce Montgomery's army. In the absence of Colonel Bedel and Lieutenant-Colonel Wait a part of this Ranger regiment was surrendered at a fort called "Cedars," under circumstances most discreditable to Major Butterfield who was in command. (Potter's Mil. Hist., Adjt.-Gen's Report, 1866, vol. 2, p. 287.) This necessarily resulted in a serious loss of equipment which had been drawn from the western New Hampshire militia contributing the men and material for Bedel's regiment. The burden of replacing the loss in arms and accoutrements from this disgraceful affair was a serious matter for the farmer soldiers of the frontier.[1]

[1] Memorial of Charles Johnston, Joseph Hutchins, Simeon Goodwin, and Joshua Howard, 12 State Papers, 187. American Archives, series 5, vol. 1, pp. 398, 399 memorial of the officers of Bedel's regiment to Major-General Gates, dated at Ticonderoga, July 17, 1776.

The numerical strength of Morey's regiment can be ascertained with reasonable accuracy. The record, printed in 14 State Papers, 556, which gives the statistics of enrolment for an apportionment of recruits called for to fill the three continental regiments in 1777, is apparently complete except as to Colonel Morey's regiment. The total strength of the regiment is given as 347. This is manifestly based on the census returns of the fall of 1775. (7 Prov. Papers, 724.) The part which remains in the original manuscript is indicated by italics. The part in Roman is reconstructed from the census returns above mentioned. The result is so nearly that given in the record summary that we have a right to assume our method of reconstruction of the statistics of enrolment for the regiment to be sufficiently accurate.

Orford	47
Lyme	69
Bath	35
Cockburne	6
Colebrook	1
Haverhill	86
Piermont	43
Stratford	16
Apthorp (estimated)[1]	5
Gunthwaite	11
Northumberland (14 State Papers, 559, 7)	20
Lancaster (".....".....".....".....6)	17
Lyman (".....".....".....".....0) (estimated)	9
Landaff	9
Morristown	6
Reconstructed summary	378
Record (official)	347
Variance	31

The difference in the record statement (14 State Papers, 559) of the number of men in Lancaster, Northumberland, and Lyman, and the statistics as corrected by the census returns (7 State Papers, 724 to 781) with the uncertainty taken into account as to Lyman and Apthorp, from which necessarily only estimates are given, is not very important, and, due allowance being made according to the apparent requirements of the case, no serious historical error will be possible.

It may, therefore, be assumed, for the purposes of this narrative, that we have the territorial extent of the regiment outlined, and its numerical strength also, as nearly as it is practicable to state it from the records, read in connection with the census of 1775.

[1] See 7 Province Papers 672, for authority for estimates.

We are also enabled to locate most of the companies which constituted the regiment, and to give the roster of field and company officers with the exception of one or two companies. This statement refers to the organization as it stood in September, 1775.

A List of the 12th Regiment of Foot,

Colony of New Hampshire,

Sept. 5th, 1775.[1]

Commissioned 5th Sept., 1775.

Israel Morey, Esq., Colonel.	Charles Johns [t] on, Esq. Lt. Col.
Jonathan Child, Esq., Major.	Jonathan Hale, Esq., 2d Maj.

Haverhill First Company.

Joshua Hayward, Capt.	Samuel Ladd, Lt.
Ebenezer Rice, 2d Lt.	John Ladd, Ensign.

Orford 2nd Company.

Daniel Tillotson, Capt.	Peletiah Bliss, Lieut.
Eldad Post, 2d Lt.	Jonathan Derby, Ensign.

Lyme 3rd Company.

John Sloan, Capt.	Benjamin Grant, Jr., Lt.
Jabez Vaughn, 2d Lt.	James English, Ensign.

4th Company

(Name of town and roster not in original.)

Piermont 5th Company.

Jonathan Chandler, Capt.	John Weed, Lt.
Azariah Webb, 2d Lt.	Burgess Metcalf, Ensign.

Gunthwaite 6th Company.

Luther Richardson, Capt.	Jacob Shuff, Lieut.
William Martin, 2d Lt.	Timothy Bagley, Ensign.

Bath 7th Company

Samuel Titus, Capt.	Daniel Bedel, Lieut.
Henry Hancock, 2d Lt.	Aaron Bayley, Ensign.

Bath, Commissioned 20th June 1780

Ebenezer Sanborn, Capt.	Thomas McConnell
Joshua Sanders 2d Lt.	Job Moulton, Ensign.

[1] 16 State Papers, 924.

It is apparent from the statistical view that there would be serious practical obstacles in the way of an organization of a company of militia in the scattered townships to the north of Gunthwaite. Neither Lancaster nor Northumberland, the two most populous settlements, had enough men of military age for a company of the strength required by law. It is hardly to be supposed that people so much dispersed could effect very much for the purpose of maintaining a company of militia. The theory that they did not so unite in the early years of the Revolution seems to be sustained by the fact that the Coös forts were garrisoned by companies or squads of rangers sometimes recruited from the northern towns within a wide circuit, and sometimes sent in from distant places. We may assume, in the absence of contemporary records, that the service constantly required in guarding and scouting this frontier, and in contributing to the requirements of a more general service, was a sufficient test of the devotion of these pioneers to the cause of independence, and that their duties in the fields and in the forts left no opportunity or occasion for further organization into a company or companies in Morey's regiment of militia, to which territorially they would be constituent. Conditions did not change materially till the end of the war.

There are certain facts in the official records, pertinent in this connection, which have not been overlooked. It appears in the State Papers as early as January, 1776, that Edwards Bucknam of Lancaster, in a vote of the legislature appointing coroners for the county of Grafton, is accorded the title of captain. This may indicate that he had such command before he settled at that point or afterwards. No evidence is accessible to settle the question. Furthermore, in 1779 it appears that the settlers in those parts chose Nathan Caswell to be captain of some sort of local military organization. Whether it was merely a temporary measure or intended as an extension of the militia system is not disclosed by the record. (8 State Papers 21; 13 *id.*, 474, 475; 15 *id.*, 705.)

The history of Morey's regiment derives interest from events which had a peculiar significance in the politics of the towns embraced within its limits. A number of the leading men in these settlements were from Connecticut, and their ideas of government were naturally in accordance with their education and experience in the commonwealth from which they had emigrated.

Hanover, with its college and faculty, which constituted a Connecticut colony of itself, was the intellectual centre for this movement, which took substantial form early in 1776. The form of government

adopted for the time being by the Fifth Provincial Congress was not acceptable to the majority of the people in the towns now constituting the western part of Grafton county. Colonel Hurd and Lt.-Col. Charles Johnston, however, were not partisans of the views which generally prevailed on this subject in their vicinity. Colonel Morey and Colonel Bedel were conspicuous among the opposers of the party in power in the so-called Exeter government. The group of towns which included Gunthwaite on the north and Lebanon on the south, in Grafton county, organized themselves by town groups and local committees for the management of civil and military concerns, and formally declined to recognize the new state government of New Hampshire. It will not be found useful to pursue the history of this controversy at length in this connection. It may be remembered, however, that the Independents of the Connecticut valley manœuvered with skill and persistence to accomplish such a union of Vermont towns with New Hampshire as promised either to augment the influence of the western part of the state and to diminish in a corresponding degree the political power which the eastern section had acquired, or to sever themselves from New Hampshire and join with the proposed state of Vermont or New Connecticut under more favorable conditions than they could expect from New Hampshire. At two periods between 1776 and the close of the war, that is to say, in 1778 and 1781–'82, these towns were in active union with Vermont as far as the formal action of both parties could accomplish such a result.[1]

[1] Briefly stated, the contention of the New Hampshire party was that upon the dissolution of political relations between the colonies and the mother country, and more especially in respect to the territory in controversy between New York and New Hampshire, the towns, being the political units and the original sources of political authority, were invested with the right to determine for themselves the question whether to accord allegiance to the one or the other of the disputing states, or whether to erect themselves into a state independent of the mandate of any other association of towns or committees formed for the purposes of government. They urged that inasmuch as the New Hampshire constitution of 1776 had never been submitted to the people or to the towns for ratification, and had been accepted by a part of the towns only, it was operative only upon such as had elected to ratify its provisions. The protesting towns took care not to do any act which could be construed as a ratification of that form of government in the six years from early in 1776 to 1782. Their argument was presented in the controversial and official literature of that time with great skill and effectiveness. They succeeded in making themselves felt as a political force to be reckoned with by three established states and the continental congress, as well as the prospective commonwealth of Vermont.

A number of the more important collections of documents and historical treatises relating to this subject in its various aspects are mentioned in the preface to vol. 26, State Papers, p. ix. Several valuable contributions to the history of the same controversy are embodied in recent biographies of historic personages of that time.

Colonel Bedel of Haverhill and Colonel Brewster of Hanover were members of the Vermont Board of War (2 Gov. and Council Records, Vermont, p. 89), and Colonel Morey recognized the civil and military authority of Vermont, and as far as his authority and influence were effectual, his regiment was a component of the Vermont militia. Colonel Bedel's regiment, which had been organized under continental authority, was discontinued by vote of congress November 27, 1778. There is evidence that Colonel Bedel's connection with the Vermont controversy was a moving cause in this result. (See letters of Lieut.-Col. John Wheelock and General Washington on this subject, both of date November 20, 1778, and the comments of the historian of Hanover, Chase's Hist. of Hanover, p. 395.) He represented the adjoining towns of Bath, Lyman, and Morristown, as well as Haverhill in the Vermont assembly in 1781.[1]

Among them the following are especially noteworthy: Elisha Payne, by William H. Cotton, G. & C. Bar Ass'n, vol. 1, p. 497; Samual Livermore, by Charles R. Corning, *Id.*, p. 365; John Sullivan, by Alonzo H. Quint, address at the dedication of the Sullivan monument at Durham, Proceedings of that occasion, published by the state, p. 53; Meshech Weare, a Monograph, by Ezra S. Stearns, pamphlet, 1894; *Id.*, vol. 1, Proceedings of the New Hampshire Society of Sons of the American Revolution, p. 62; Timothy Bedel, by Edgar Aldrich, 3 Proc. N. H. Hist. Soc., 194–231.

[1] Colonel Bedel was the most prominent figure from the region of western Grafton in the continental service. He was principally occupied in guarding this frontier and coöperating with the northern army. He ceased to be active in the field, after congress in November, 1778, declined to continue his regiment under authority of the confederacy. Col. Moses Hazen was in a measure his successor with a regiment partaking of the characteristics of the ranger service and with continental commission. The two men were in intimate relations, and Colonel Bedel was often called upon, after his formal retirement, to aid in the collection and forwarding of military stores in and from the Coös country. (Bedel Papers, 17 State Papers, *passim.*) He was not in favor with President Weare, the executive head of the New Hampshire Revolutionary administration (Letter to the Delegates in Congress, August 19, 1778, and Vt. State Papers, 303), and in Vermont politics he was a strenuous opponent of the party represented by Governor Chittenden and the Allens. The Haldimand correspondence discloses an attempt on the part of the British-Canadian diplomats to enlist Colonel Bedel in coöperation with the leaders of the Bennington party in the truce that was proposed, with a cessation of hostilities against Vermont. (2 Coll. Vt. Hist. Soc., 267, 273.) In view of the attitude of his political associates in the valley (*Id.*, 173) the eventual conclusion of Colonel Bedel in respect to such a convention between Governor Haldimand and Governor Chittenden, the Allens and Fay, could be foreseen with comparative certainty.

As already stated in the text, Colonel Bedel was a member of the Vermont Board of War in 1781–'82. From the standpoint of military strategy no one could better appreciate the importance of the fertile and populous middle and upper valley of the Connecticut as a source of supply for the continental army than Colonel Bedel. He was keenly alive to the necessity of keeping a strong force well in hand in that region at all times; otherwise invasion would be invited, and its disastrous consequences

Colonel Morey, notwithstanding his open and persistent support of the independent movement, continued in command of the Twelfth regiment until hostilities reached the verge of armed collision between New Hampshire and Vermont over the jurisdictional issue. He was then, on the 11th day of January, 1782, summarily removed from his command by the New Hampshire legislature, and Lieut-Col. Charles Johnston was made colonel. This, the last experiment in any form of a union of the towns on the east side of the river with Vermont, shortly resulted in a definite and unqualified failure. The leaders in

in the depopulation and devastation of the valley inevitable. Colonel Bedel's insistence upon this policy undoubtedly caused the discontinuance of his command. (Memoir of Gen. John Stark by Caleb Stark, 1877, pp. 161, 166, 179.) If he was afterwards in any sense a party to the negotiations with Governor Haldimand it was without doubt moved by his skepticism as to the efficacy of the measure sanctioned by congress for the defense of this region and a conviction that it was justifiable in the prospective failure of other protection to keep the enemy beyond our own boundaries by recourse to the methods of diplomacy. With the failure of the Independents of the valley as a controlling force, either in the politics of the one state or the other, which immediately followed the settlement of the boundary at the west bank of the river, Colonel Payne of Lebanon, Judge Woodward of Hanover, Colonel Bedel, Colonel Morey, and their associates found themselves in irretrievable political defeat and squarely face to face with the inevitable. With a few exceptions these men loyally adapted themselves to the settled conditions. Colonel Potter, in a note to his Military History, states that Bedel was a major-general of the second division of the N. H. militia after the war, and this statement is adopted by Governor Harriman and other writers. (Adjt.-Gen's. Report, N. H., vol. 2, 1866, p. 242; *Granite Monthly*, vol. 3, p. 513.) Noting the absence of any record to verify the assertion, taking into account the significant fact that he is always designated as "colonel" in the Journals of the House in 1784–'85, while those known to have been commissioned as generals in the militia are invariably given the title in the same record whenever a military designation is attached, and considering the attitude of Colonel Bedel towards New Hampshire authority in the later years of the war, we are convinced that on this point Colonel Potter was in error. There was but one major-general in command of the New Hampshire militia at any one time until about the date of the decease of Colonel Bedel, and this office had but two incumbents until 1786, first General Folsom and later General Sullivan. No official record mentions Colonel Bedel as a brigadier or major-general. In the two years intervening between the failure of the union with Vermont and the inauguration of a state government under the constitution of 1784 the animosities and disappointments engendered by the struggle between the states for jurisdiction over the territory between the Green Mountains and the Masonian line were becoming less appreciable before other interests and fresher issues. Colonel Payne for Lebanon and Colonel Bedel for Haverhill were returned to the new legislature, and were at once accorded recognition commensurate with their character and ability. (20 State Papers, *passim*.)

Colonel Bedel died in 1787 in the full prospect of supplementing a useful and distinguished military career by one as honorable on the civic side in public affairs. (See also Biography of Timothy Bedel by Edgar Aldrich, 3 Proceedings N. H. Hist. Soc., 194-231.)

the movement generally acquiesced in the result, but Colonel Morey could not bring himself to such compliance with the logic of events. He removed at once and permanently into Fairlee on the Vermont side of the river. There he passed the remainder of his days and occupied a commanding position for many years both in civil and military affairs.

Colonel Morey was undoubtedly a consistent partisan. In antagonism to the Exeter party in New Hampshire his attitude was unequivocal and his conduct straightforward. In the politics of the new state of Vermont he was the same sturdy and persistent opponent of the Bennington party. This is not the place for a treatment of the negotiations between the Vermont leaders and the British-Canadian authorities in the latter part of the war period. (Haldimand Papers, 2 Hist. Soc. Coll., Vt., p. 55.) As indicating the position of some of the prominent men on the east side of the river, then claimed as a part of Vermont, an extract from a report of one of the commissioners, dated September 30, 1781, is given:

"I find that Congress are much alarmed, and have lately at great expense employed a number of emissaries in Vermont to counteract underhand whatever is doing for government. The principal of these are General Bailey, Colonels Chas. Johnston, Moron, (Morey?), Brewster, and Major Childs on Connecticut River.

"This junto, of which General Bailey is the soul, are endeavoring to set the populace against their present leaders by insinuating to them that they are tories and intend to sell Vermont, &c." (2 Hist. Soc. Coll., Vt., 178; Amory, Life of Sullivan, 305.)

It is entirely to Colonel Morey's credit that he was the subject of such criticism as this at the hands of the British-Canadian officials. Indeed, all the evidence which throws light on the character of the men at that time vindicates the loyalty and patriotism of Colonel Morey in the cause of independence.

The circumstances in which he was placed and the attitude he assumed in state politics put him at a serious disadvantage in his relations with the dominant party in New Hampshire. (Biography of Israel Morey by Frederic P. Wells, in preparation for the Proceedings N. H. Hist. Soc.)

In November, 1779, Capt. Joshua Howard of Haverhill was promoted to be second major in place of Major Hale.[1] In the records this officer's name appears occasionally as Hayward, as well as Howard. There is nothing to indicate that any changes were made in the field officers of the regiment after the advancement of Lieutenant-Colonel

[1] 8 State Papers, 834.

Johnston until March 1, 1783, when the house of representatives voted[1] "That Capt. Ebenezer Green [of Lyme] be and hereby is appointed Lieut.-Col. of the twelfth regiment of militia in this State."

"That Joshua Howard, Esq[r] [of Haverhill] be and he hereby is appointed first Major of the twelfth regiment of Militia in this State."

"That Capt. Edwards Bucknam [of Lancaster] be and he hereby is appointed a Second Major of the twelfth regiment of Militia in this State."

The council records, as now preserved, do not indicate a concurrence in these votes by that body. Perhaps there was an error of omission at this point on the part of the recording officer. It will be noted that Capt. Edwards Bucknam is named by his title. This may and probably does indicate that a company or companies had at this date been organized further north than Gunthwaite (Lisbon)[2], and that Captain Bucknam had been in command of one of them. There is significance in the appointment of a major to be located in the north part of the territory of the regiment. It presupposes a developement of the organization either already in progress or expected in that direction.

The numbering of Morey's regiment in the Vermont military establishment has not been ascertained with absolute certainty, though it was assigned as a regiment east of the river to the brigade of Gen. Peter Olcott. Col. Jonathan Chase's regiment, according to the historian of Hanover, became the third in the Vermont arrangement, and Morey's was probably the first. (2 Records Gov. and Council, Vt. 88.)

From the date of Colonel Johnston's advancement to the colonelcy in January, 1782, he continued in command, and his regiment existed territorially as it had been during the war until the state government had been re-organized under the constitution of 1784.[3] In the latter part of that year the laws governing the militia were remodeled on a peace basis and a resulting rearrangment of regiments and reappointment or reassignment of officers ensued.

Twenty-five regiments of infantry were established besides several regiments of artillery and cavalry. The northern regiment became the Twenty-Fifth and contained the towns of Lyman, Landaff, Lincoln, Concord (alias Gunthwaite), Cockburne (Columbia), Franconia, Littleton, Dalton, Lancaster, Dartmouth (Jefferson), Northumberland, Stratford, Colebrook, and Percy (Stark). Joseph Whipple of Dartmouth became colonel, and held the command until the reorgan-

[1] 8 State Papers, 972. [2] 8 State Papers, 21.

[3] Biography by J. Q. Bittinger, 15 *Granite Monthly*. 85.

ization in 1792. (Biography, by Chester B. Jordan, 2 Proceedings N. H. Hist. Soc., 289.) Bath was included in the Haverhill (Thirteenth) regiment in 1784, with Moses Dow as colonel.

This was an interesting and progressive period for the militia. John Sullivan was major-general from 1784 to 1786, and subsequently commander-in-chief for three years by virtue of his office as president of the state.[1] The prestige of General Sullivan's name and his active influence promoted a healthful *esprit de corps* in the militia of the new state. With a general revision of the laws and reorganization of the militia in December, 1792, the towns of the Twenty-Fifth regiment, with little change and with the adoption of a new feature, the battalion arrangement, became the Twenty-Fourth. Concord (Lisbon), Lyman, Littleton, Franconia, Lincoln, and Dalton were the first battalion, and Lancaster, Northumberland, Dartmouth, Percy, Coleburne (Colebrook), Cockburne (Columbia), Stewartstown, and Stratford constituting the second. In 1793 Concord (Lisbon) and Lyman were severed from the Twenty-Fourth and joined with the Thirteenth regiment. At the same time the battalion division was altered and Lancaster, Littleton, Dalton, Franconia, State Hill (Bethlehem), and Jefferson constituted the first battalion, and the towns above them the second. (Compiled Laws of 1805, p. 246.) This was the status of the regiment until December, 1804. Coös county had been established in the previous year. The towns of Coös county were continued in the Twenty-Fourth regiment, while Bath, Lyman, and Landaff were made a first battalion and Littleton, Bethlehem, Lincoln, and Franconia constituted the second of the newly formed Thirty-Second regiment. (Compiled Laws of 1805, p. 251.) This regiment was now an established feature of the general arrangement continuing practically unchanged for half a century.

The commanders of the Twenty-Fourth regiment in their order from 1793 to 1804 were Edwards Bucknam of Lancaster, 1793, Jabez Parsons of Colebrook, 1799, Joel Barlow of Stratford, 1801, and Richard C. Everett[2] of Lancaster, 1804.

Benjamin Kimball of Bath, in 1805, when the organization of the Thirty-Second regiment for northern Grafton was effected, became the first commandant.[3]

[1] Amory's Life of John Sullivan, p. 437.

[2] Biography of Richard C. Everett by Chester B. Jordan, G. & C. Bar Ass'n, vol 1, p. 437.

[3] From 1792 to 1816 regimental commanders were, by law, accorded the rank of lieutenant-colonel commandant, and the incumbent held rank equivalent to that before and after that period accorded to a colonel. An aid to the governor in the same period was also designated and ranked as a lieutenant-colonel commandant.

In estimating the number of enrolled militia in any town in the period succeeding the Revolution, it must be remembered that the militia act of March 18, 1780, continued the existing provision for two classes, the train band, composed of youth and men from sixteen to forty years of age, and an alarm list composed of men from forty to sixty years of age. By the act of December 28, 1792, the alarm list was abolished and the military age was from eighteen to forty. It was made sixteen to forty in 1795 (June 10). This was the age for a long period afterwards. By the act of June 24, 1786, towns which could furnish thirty-two privates and the proper number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers (13) were required to establish one company; but when a town had less than thirty-two privates and a sufficient number of officers they were joined to such other corps as the field officer might think proper.

By act of December 24, 1792, which was really a new military code, the number of privates for a company was fixed at sixty-four, with no provision for a less number for the first company or a greater for the second.

At the time of the second war with England three regiments occupied the original territory of the Twelfth. Later there was another in the western side of Coös. The hereditary martial spirit of the people thoroughly permeated the military system of the state for many years after the Revolution. So complete, practical, and effective was it in 1814 that a regiment was mobilized for the defense of Portsmouth in three days, and within the brief space of time required to send express messengers with the summons, and for the men to accomplish the march from their rendezvous to Portsmouth, five regiments of infantry, with cavalry and artillery, were in the field for offensive or defensive operations against the enemy.

Judge Potter says of our military status at this period:

"The declaration of war found the militia of New Hampshire in a flourishing condition, as much so as at any period of its existence. The governor [William Plumer] who from his position is commander-in-chief of the militia, though not a military man, was one of energy, patriotism, method, and great executive ability. His heart and hand were in the cause. His predecessors in that important office, without an exception under the present constitution, had been men engaged in the Revolutionary struggle, and had learned by experience the worth of a well regulated militia, carried out the maxim of 'in time of peace prepare for war,' and did not believe in the more modern idea that 'the militia system was a nuisance, and tended to demoral-

ize the people.' The adjutant-general was a soldier of the Revolution, and had been in that position since the adoption of the constitution, and many of the officers of the militia had been his comrades in arms in that great struggle. Such men, taught in the school of experience, brought military skill and pride, without which skill is of little avail, to the organization and completion of our military system. Such being the situation of our militia, compliance with the requisitions of the general government was met with the greatest promptness."

In later years a spirit of pusillanimous commercialism and non-resistance seemed to cause a deterioration in the quality of our militarism. It is none the less the duty and the opportunity of all who possess a healthful and progressive patriotism to see that the hereditary spirit, the ancient heroic temper of the people is not lost or abated. I venture to quote to this point the words of a New Hampshire statesman of our own time, as they declare on the basis of philosophical truth the present necessity and the present duty in reference to the public defense, in view, not only of existing circumstances, but also of the possibilities of the future.

The quotation is as follows:

"As the situation now is, nothing could be more foolish and criminal than to leave our coasts defenseless, cease to build warships and dismantle the few we have, 'beat our swords into ploughshares, and our spears into pruning-hooks,' and teach our young men that they must not learn war any more. The history of the world furnishes a multitude of examples illustrating the disastrous fate that overtakes nations when they discard the means necessary to protect them from the assaults of warlike enemies. The great, rich, and populous empire of China furnishes a very recent example that demonstrates how foolish a thing it is at this day for a nation to fail to be prepared to defend itself against the modes and implements of modern warfare. A rich country without defenses and inhabited by a timid, unwarlike people, is a standing invitation to all outside adventurers to invade it, to conquer and possess it, stripping the miserable inhabitants of everything, and either enslaving them or driving them into exile. As humanity is, at the present time, the millennial period not having arrived and there being no signs of it, the surest guaranty of peace which a nation can have is the world's estimate that it is a just nation, that it will ask nothing but what is right, that it is prepared for war, and will submit to nothing wrong. The proposition that war is wrong *per se*, and can never be justified, is a proposition which cannot be maintained except

upon the broad ground of the non-resistants. Nations have the right of self-defense, and are under legal and moral obligation to engage in war whenever it is necessary in order to protect the lives and property of their citizens. War is right or wrong according to the circumstances that occasion it. Through all the ages since the world began wars have succeeded wars in constant succession, apparently in obedience to the fixed laws that regulate the lot of humanity."[1]

I will add a brief extract from a letter of Gen. John Sullivan which was addressed to the people of this state more than a century ago. He said:

"In Republican governments, people often turn their thoughts to that part of the constitution which bequeaths them their liberties; but too frequently forget that they ought to pursue measures for securing them. We have already bravely purchased liberty and independence, and now make part of an empire where freedom reigns without control; but what will our late struggle avail, if we suffer the military skill which we have acquired to be lost, and ourselves to sleep in seeming safety till the avarice, the jealousy, or the ambition of some foreign prince rouses us from our slumbers, and convinces us of our mistake?

"We often please ourselves by observing that this country is calculated for freedom and commerce, not for war. I sincerely join in the opinion, and most ardently wish it may ever remain such; but I have long since been convinced that the only way to keep peace is to be prepared for whatever events may come. If we mean to keep our neighbors' sword in the scabbard we shall whet our own."[2]

In another connection General Sullivan urges the importance and utility of the military education of the youth.

On this point, addressing himself to the instructors of schools and academies, he writes as follows:

"As the profession of arms is in every country esteemed honorable, even when the science of war is learned with a view of extending conquests over unoffending nations, it must be infinitely more so when taught for the purpose of national defense, and for the security of dear-bought freedom.

Permit me, therefore, gentlemen, to entreat you, if you will not interfere with the plans which you may have laid for diffusing literary knowledge, to set apart some hours in the week for the youth under your care to amuse themselves in learning the manual exercise and military manœuvres. If this proposal should meet your approbation,

[1] The Safety of the Republic the Supreme Law, by Hon. Harry Bingham, LL. D., 3 Proceed. G. & C. Bar Ass'n, 203.

[2] Amory, Life of Major-General John Sullivan, p. 307.

your own wisdom will dictate the best method for carrying it into execution. If relaxation from studies is necessary, perhaps none can be so useful; and I am convinced, that, in a short time, none could be more pleasing to your pupils. You will then have the pleasing satisfaction to see the youth, whom you have taught to converse with the sages of Greece and Rome, to admire the heroes of ancient and modern times, and to value that freedom for which they have fought and bled, made, by your care, proper champions to defend those natural and national rights which you have taught them to hold in the highest estimation "[1]

With one more abstract from contemporary authority, this from an author of national repute, a theologian who is a leader of thought in our universities, a New Hampshire soldier, without fear and without reproach, I submit this outline of the self-sacrificing, well-directed, and unflinching efforts of the fathers who were, a hundred and twenty years ago, striving to subdue the wilderness of northern New England, and at the same time making that grand struggle to establish an enduring nationality, and the soldier-citizen's plea for the maintenance of the priceless heritage by that intelligent, eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty. In a recent contribution to the military history of New Hampshire Rev. Dr. Luther Tracy Townsend says:

"The way for our nation to prevent war is to be prepared for it, and the way for her to check the wrongs and tyrannies of the whole world is to be courageous and speak out.

"If, therefore, in view of what has been said, it is clear that the heroic and military spirit is of service and that it should not be allowed to slumber as it did in our northern states during the years preceding the late war; if it is clear that our nation, among the nations of the earth, has a larger mission than as yet has been claimed for her; and if it is true that the day of universal peace has not yet dawned, then we may offer a single additional plea, namely, that military weapons must not be left exclusively in the hands of what are called government and mercenary troops, but also and largely should be in the hands of an organized and disciplined state militia.

"'It is certain,' said Madison, 'that liberty cannot be safe with powerful standing armies, and that, without an effective militia, the danger of such armies cannot be precluded.' The history and fate of the republics of Greece and Rome, of Genoa and Venice, are a standing warning against the transfer of the sword from the militia to a mercenary soldiery.

[1] Amory, Life of General John Sullivan, p. 318.

"We do not say that what is termed the 'regular army,' in a nation of considerable magnitude like ours, is useless. Often it is serviceable in the exercise of the balance of power in sudden emergencies. It is available, as a sort of movable police force, in presenting a speedy check to slight, local uprisings, and it everywhere inspires respect, being the representative of the national government.

"But what we insist on is that in the midst of great perils the state militia is the surest bulwark of a nation's rights. 'It is the wall, behind which a free people may pursue their honest toil unharmed.' It was the state militia of New England under the old provincial flag of Massachusetts Bay which made the Indian tremble as 'he saw them pass along in martial order.' It was the state militia of New England which stood the first shock of the Revolutionary war in 1775. It was the state militia of New Hampshire that protected its legislature during the disturbances and disaffections in 1782. It was the state militia of Massachusetts that quelled the Shays insurrection in 1786. It was the state militia of Pennsylvania which enforced the law and maintained order during the insurrections of 1794–'98.

"During the war of 1812, when the enemy was hovering along our coast and the national forces were withdrawn, they were the organized and officered New England militia companies which, with twenty-four hours' notice, garrisoned and protected all our posts and seaboard cities. It was the state militia that in several different commonwealths quelled the riots of 1877.

"And in 1861, when our country's capital was besieged, when our national archives were threatened, when our way to Washington was blocked in the streets of Baltimore, the first troops that fought their way to the protection and rescue of the city of Washington were the state militia of Massachusetts.

"These instances are convincing illustrations of the efficiency and necessity of the sword in the hands of a state militia under state orders.

"Our conviction is, therefore, that every boy of twelve or fifteen years of age in the state of New Hampshire should learn to go through the manual of arms. And it should be a health-giving and heroic discipline if all our boys were taught to draw and poise the sword on horseback and to ram the cartridge in a field piece of any calibre.

"Every large public school in our state, like the schools of Germany, should have its military battalion and its drill-master in science. Our public schools should be called together and dismissed, not with the bell, but with the drum and fife.

"And no argument is needed to show that if the youth of our land had been thus properly schooled and drilled prior to 1861 the Confederacy never would have reached the magnitude it assumed, and we should not have been called upon to write this history of the Sixteenth Regiment of New Hampshire Volunteers."[1]

Among the many hostile influences that are always moving openly or secretly against a well-regulated and efficient system of militia are two that are antipodal. The elements of anarchism are from their very nature antagonistic to all the instrumentalities and agencies of law and order. The elements of arbitrary and tyrannical autocracy are consistent only with the existence of a standing army to which is committed, to the exclusion of local police and local militia, all those functions which pertain not only to the maintenance of the general peace and the suppression of serious disorder in the state, but also to the crushing out of justifiable uprisings of the people against the exercise of oppressive and intolerable power. Within these extremes of opposition to the militia system, as an essential factor in local state government, are many other fruitful sources of hostility, besides the inertia of indifference which is, on occasions, no less pernicious than active antagonism. In a free republic it is still an essential to the correct balancing of the powers of the state and the rights and responsibilities of the people that the principal reliance on the military side of the government should be a citizen soldiery, educated and exercised for exceptional duty and unexpected emergencies, and not a permanent and burdensome segregation, in a standing army, of vast numbers of the best manhood of the body politic from all of the productive and indispensable vocations of life upon which the progress and prosperity of the nation are absolutely dependent.

The lesson of the past is instructive and inspiring to the thinkers and actors of this generation who are both conservative and progressive. It calls upon us to hold fast to the doctrines of the fathers as illustrated by their example in the conservation of means, at all times, to insure the public defense without at any time placing free institutions in jeopardy; wisely to organize, diligently to improve, and liberally to sustain our systems of local militia on the most approved methods of discipline and equipment; and to make the principles declared in the constitution basic, vital, and productive truths governing the civic action of the people and their servants in all the departments and in all the functions of the state.

"Standing armies are dangerous to liberty."

[1] History of the Sixteenth N. H. Vols. p. 326.

"In all cases and at all times the military ought to be under strict subordination to, and governed by, the civil power."

"A well regulated militia is the proper, natural, and sure defense of the state."[1]

[1] Constitution of New Hampshire.

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See "Schedule Containing an Account of the Services of the Militia from 1775 to 1783" in the legislative document signed "Jeremiah Smith, one of the Comm'rs," House Journal, Feb. 12, 1791; Coll. N. H. Hist. Society, vol. 9, pp. 415–421.

This report mentions several companies of rangers serving at Coös that have not been identified by the rolls.

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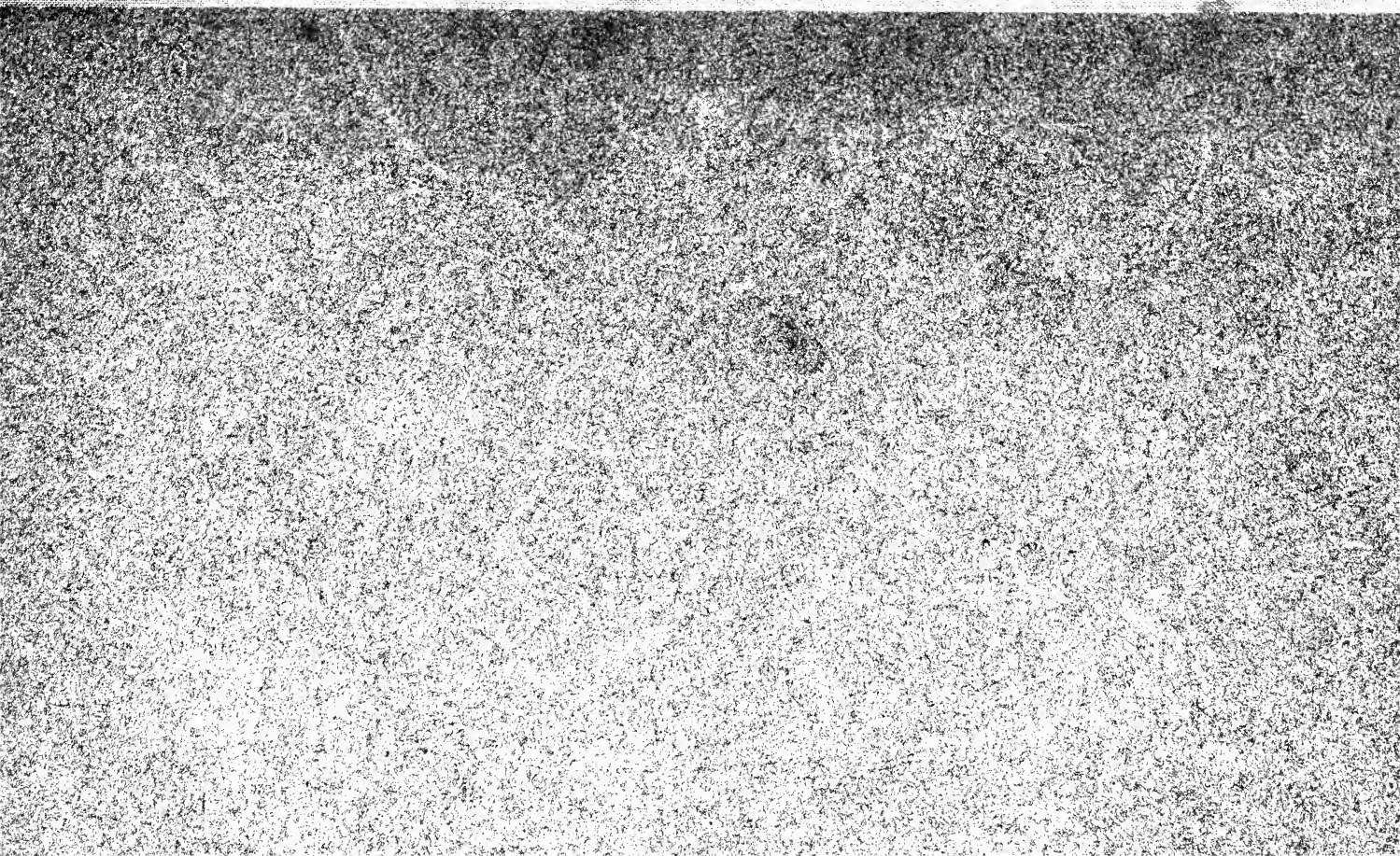
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